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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



ADDRESSES

DELIVERED

IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

HARRISBURG, PA.

ON TUESDAY EVENING, APRIL 6, 1852,

BY

WILLIAM V. PETTIT, ESQ.

AND

REV. JOHN P. DURBIN, D. D.



PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY.



PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY W. F. GEDDES, No. 111 CHESTNUT ST.
1852.

PENNSYLVANIA COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

IN view of the numerous applications from colored persons residing in Pennsylvania to be afforded the means of reaching Liberia, the Pennsylvania Colonization Society at their February meeting, resolved to appoint a committee to "visit Harrisburg during the session of the Legislature, to endeavor to procure an appropriation from that body to this Society."

Accordingly, Messrs. W. V. Pettit, John W. Claghorn, and Rev. Dr. Durbin, visited that place, and on the evening of April 6th, a large and highly respectable public meeting was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives—which had been previously granted for that purpose. It was attended by the Governor of the State, members of both houses of the Legislature, and the citizens and strangers then in Harrisburg.

The proceedings were highly interesting and instructive. The addresses on the occasion are, by resolution of the Board, now presented to the Public.

MR. PETTIT'S ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATURE :

At the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society, held in Washington in January last, it was among other things,

Resolved, That we gratefully appreciate the recommendations of the Governors of several of the States, that legislative action should be taken, and appropriations made, for the purpose of advancing the ends of this Society; and that the several State auxiliary Societies be requested to memorialize the Legislatures of their respective States, soliciting State appropriations for the purpose of removing free persons of color to the Republic of Liberia.

In accordance with this resolution, and with their own sense of duty and propriety, the Pennsylvania Colonization Society have deputed us to present to your honorable bodies their supposed claims for your official support in the great work in which they feel themselves to be engaged. It did not enter into their plans to present the subject to you in this form, but as we may be able to do so more comprehensively and conveniently than could be done by conversation with individual members, we beg leave to thank you for ourselves, as well as in the name of the Society, for whose sake we are permitted to address you, for your kindness and courtesy in affording us such an opportunity; and we would also thank you, gentlemen, for the compliment implied by your general attendance. In this connection it may be suitable, perhaps, that we should also add, that it will afford us pleasure during our stay here, and indeed, at any time, to converse or correspond with you personally on this interesting and important subject.

I shall take the liberty, gentlemen, of characterizing this as a work of benevolence and public policy. It is in the latter point of view more particularly, however, that I may be permitted to present it as entitled to your support in your representative capacity: and if I can succeed in showing that the good of the State may be promoted by aiding in the accomplishment of this work, and, further, that that portion of our population who are most particularly affected by the movements and objects of the Society have claims for such an interposition of the public authorities, I may also, I am sure, be allowed to present to you

some moral considerations, which unite with those of a political character in urging that this great work shall be faithfully and vigorously carried on—a work which has been characterized by one of the most distinguished of modern authorities, as the greatest since the discovery of this continent. “The Americans,” says the Westminster Review, “are successfully planting free negroes on the coast of Africa: a greater event, probably, in its consequences, than any that has occurred since Columbus set sail for the New World.” What a striking and flattering comparison!! The best friends and most sanguine supporters of the cause could desire nor conceive none higher! And perhaps it is suggestive of more than strikes us at first thought. It may be that the full value of the discovery of our American continent may not be properly estimated and appreciated, unless we embrace in the thought, the idea that it has been the means, not only of extending a knowledge of liberty and Christianity throughout the world in general, but that it has also been the means of bringing into contact with our race, the dark and benighted race of Africa, in order that they may be taken back again to the land of their ancestors, bearing with them the precious seeds of our blessed Christianity and our glorious liberty and civilization, to elevate, enlighten, and save their countless millions from the barbarism and heathenism which have characterized them from the foundation of the world.

The objects of the American Colonization Society have been well stated to be:

First, To rescue the free people of color of the United States, from their political and social disadvantages.

Second, To place them in a country where they can enjoy the benefit of a free government with all the blessings it brings in its train.

Third, To afford slaveholders who may wish to liberate their slaves, an asylum for their reception.

Fourth, To arrest and destroy the African slave trade.

Fifth, To spread civilization, sound morals, and true religion over the whole continent of Africa.

And, I also may add, for myself, that I believe a strong reason with many of the friends of the measure has been, the belief that it would be the most effectual means for saving ourselves and our posterity from those dangers which are apprehended from the presence of two separate and distinct races in our land—a danger affecting the peace and safety of the one race, and possibly the very existence of the other. And now gentlemen, we are on a broad platform, with a large theme before us—so large that I am admonished of the danger of too greatly

encroaching on your time. I will endeavor to take heed, therefore, and to avoid the danger, by merely glancing around at the different points as they arise, without attempting to go fully into any of them.

The existence and condition of the African race on this continent has been a subject of interest and anxiety to statesmen and philanthropists from a very early day. The permission to carry on the slave-trade which was given by the laws of the mother country, was a subject of complaint while these States were yet colonies; and in the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, it was made a serious and strong charge against the King, that he continued to allow this abominable traffic—this “piratical warfare,” as it was called—to be still carried on. But, as the North was largely engaged in the trade, and as the Southern States had already great numbers of those people in their midst, this denunciation was not made a part of that imperishable instrument as it was finally adopted; though it shows what were the sentiments of its immortal author, and, doubtless, of many others even at that early day, of this detestable traffic. Very shortly after that great event in the career of that body, Mr. Jefferson exchanged his seat in Congress for one in the Legislature of his State, where he thought he might be more useful; and there again his attention was given to this subject. Among other measures to adapt the laws of that State to the new order of things, he proposed a bill with the intention of “giving freedom to all born after a certain day, and deportation at a proper age.”

“But it was found,” he says in subsequently reviewing these events, “that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it (he adds,) bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more surely written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peacefully, and in such slow degrees as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be *pari passu* filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain look for an example in the Spanish deportation or deletion of the Moors. This precedent would fall far short of our case.”

But though the public mind was not prepared to adopt the course in Virginia which was pursued at that period in this State, it was yet deep-

ly agitated on the subject; and when, a few years later, that great State freely and magnanimously ceded its vast empire beyond the Ohio to the confederation—a territory which now forms five great States of this Union—it voluntarily, though a slave State itself, to its imperishable honor, imposed as a condition, that slavery or involuntary servitude should not be permitted to exist there. Immediately after this again, in the Convention to “form a more perfect Union,” and which adopted our present glorious Constitution, this subject of the African race was one of difficulty and trouble. But under a benign Providence these difficulties were all adjusted, and we have this blessed fabric, of which I will only say, *esto perpetua*.

I have said thus much, gentlemen, to show that this subject has been one of early and constant anxiety to statesmen and patriots. I might also refer, if time permitted me, to the act of Congress of 1807, prohibiting the slave trade; to the act of a later date, 1825 I believe, denouncing it as piracy; to numerous treaties on the subject; to the Missouri agitation, which, “like a fire-bell in the night,” shook the strongest nerves, and excited the greatest alarm throughout the country; I might also refer to the Southampton insurrection in 1832, which not only disturbed the dreams of women and children, but terrified the stout heart of many a husband and father; I might remind you, too, of the abolition excitement; the question of the right of petition; carrying incendiary matter in the mails; Texas annexation; slavery in the territories, and the recapture of fugitive slaves. I might allude, too, to the frequent legislation in the States; the question of conferring on free negroes the right of suffrage; the action of the State of Indiana in totally refusing to admit them within their borders; the proposition to expel free negroes from the slave States, and even to a bill on your own files, to prohibit the farther emigration of them into this State, to prove that this whole subject—comprehending the slave trade, slavery in the States, as well also as the condition of the so called free blacks—has been one of deep interest, anxiety, and concern, from even before the foundation of the government. Patriots and statesmen who have gone before us, saw the evil and the danger of having this distinct and incongruous race in our midst, and dreaded its tendency on the one side while they mourned the inferior and degraded condition on the other, and anxiously looked around for the means of relief and security to us, and of amelioration and improvement to them. They saw and deplored the evil that was present, and foresaw, and endeavored to avert that which was to come.

Out of all this, after much thought and various expedients, grew

the American Colonization Society. I will not attempt, nor is it important that I should, to settle the question as to who is entitled to the high honor of originating it. Doctors Hopkins, Finley and Thornton are each entitled to a large share. The Legislature of Virginia, to their honor be it spoken, in the year 1800, and for several succeeding years sought the means for establishing these people on a separate, and, perhaps, independent basis. Their eyes were turned for this purpose to our own then vacant public domain for the selection of a suitable location, and at their earnest request, the Governor of the State entered into a correspondence in relation to it with the President of the United States. These, at the time, were secret proceedings, and show a deep anxiety in relation to the subject. Mr. Jefferson, the President, favored the removal, but with that vast prescience, for which he was so eminently remarkable, he saw that this was the country of the white man, and that to establish the blacks as a separate community on any part of it, would be to adopt but a temporary expedient. He turned his thoughts to the territory of Louisiana, which he was then about to acquire, and to the West Indies, and to South America, and conferred on the subject with the ministers of foreign powers. None of these plans were adopted, though they furnish still further evidence that the vexed question was one of deep thought and concern to the wisest and best men of the day.

It was not until the first of January 1817, that the plan was finally matured, and the American Colonization Society organized for the purpose of planting a colony of free persons of color on the shores of the land of their fathers. The movement was made, and the Society composed, by some of the most eminent and distinguished men of the country. Judge Washington was the President, William H. Crawford, Henry Clay, Generals John Edgar Howard and Samuel Smith of Baltimore, and many others of the distinguished men of the time, from the North and the South, and of different politics and persuasions, were Vice Presidents, Managers and officers. But still they were as yet only at the threshold of their vast and difficult undertaking. Funds were to be provided, emigrants procured, and, what was still more difficult, a location selected and purchased for their future home. Several years elapsed before the first colony was successfully and satisfactorily planted. In 1819, Congress passed an act authorizing the President to institute an agency in Africa for the purpose of providing an asylum for such Africans as should be liberated by our ships of war from vessels seized for violating the provisions of the law for suppressing the slave trade. This measure in effect was a great advantage, and perhaps,

even an indispensable requisite to the operations of the Society. In the beginning of the next year the Rev. Mr. Bacon, a resident of our own State, and Mr. Bankson, sailed for Africa by virtue of an appointment by President Monroe, under the provisions of this law, and were accompanied by Dr. Crozer, as the Agent of the Society, and eighty-nine emigrants. It was the first expedition, and as they had no home of their own to proceed to, they made for and landed at the port of Sierra Leone, a settlement previously founded by the British government, and composed principally of refugee slaves who had joined the British in our Revolutionary War.

This expedition was not a fortunate one. I will not follow in detail its painful history, but will merely say that it was fatal to all the noble and devoted agents I have named, and to many of the emigrants also, who paid the usual penalty of pioneers in new enterprises and remote and unexplored regions. But though these men fell martyrs to their zeal in a noble cause, they neither repined in their sufferings, nor wavered in their faith; and, as if inspired by an unseen power, seemed to have bright visions of ultimate and abundant success. Bacon, highly gifted, and possessing varied acquirements, and with a noble and devoted soul, expressed his admiration that God had so made the climate as to save the land from the white man's intrusion, and to secure it for the black man's home.

The death of all these devolved the agency on Daniel Coker, a colored clergyman of the Methodist Church, who acquitted himself faithfully and well, without wavering, having faith in the promises. In writing home, he said: "Tell my brethren to come—not to fear—this land is good—it only wants men to possess it." He preached to the colonists, taught the children in Sabbath-schools, and took charge of the public stores, and acted with intelligence and fidelity, a credit to himself and to his race. It is but just to bear testimony to such merit in one who had labored under so many disadvantages.

I may not tax your patience by entering into details of the various measures and agencies of the Society. Both the government and the Society filled the vacancies occasioned by the deaths I have mentioned, by appointing other agents; some of whom also paid the penalty of their lives, for daring to brave, what was to them, so unfriendly a climate.

But an event now occurred in the progress of the work which I may not pass over in silence. It was the securing of a permanent foothold on the continent of Africa for her returning children, who had been lost and were found again. The Society having appointed Dr.

Ayres their agent, he proceeded to his destination, with instructions from the Board to select and purchase a territory for the settlement of the emigrants; and while waiting for a favorable opportunity to execute his mission, a young naval officer arrived on the coast with orders from the government to co-operate with the agent in the accomplishment of this object. It has been remarked by a very high authority, that it was peculiarly fortunate, "that an officer of so much intelligence, energy, and personal courage, should have been put in requisition on this occasion." He was one who has since become distinguished by the exhibition of all these qualities, and by the display of high abilities in various departments of usefulness and honor, and who now is a member of the Senate of the United States. That officer was Captain Robert F. Stockton.

Captain Stockton arrived on the coast in the latter part of 1821, and proceeded with Dr. Ayres, to Cape Mesurado, where after several interviews with King Peter and his headmen, they finally succeeded. on the 15th of December, in effecting the purchase of that territory—the first purchase, and, perhaps, the most desirable positions, on all that coast. But though easily narrated, this was not effected without much difficulty, and with no small degree of personal danger. There was one incident in connection with it of thrilling interest, which you will allow me, I trust, briefly to relate to you. On their first landing they were led for some distance by narrow winding paths through the jungle to the place appointed for the "palaver," where they met the King who gave them a vague promise that he would sell the land and the harbour, or mouth of the river; but wished first to confer with his headmen, and desired to postpone further proceedings until the next day. According to their engagement, the Captain and Agent again landed the next day, but found the king was not disposed to meet them. After several messages, however, he finally came and had a long palaver, in the course of which the unfortunate subject of the slave trade was introduced, which caused much difficulty, and obliged them to break up without being able to conclude an arrangement. The prospect of success was now gloomy and discouraging. But the agents were not the men to yield to ordinary obstacles. On the day after they again went ashore and sent an express for the King; but he returned for answer that he would not come; nor would he sell them the land. They then determined to go to him, and were conducted by a native six or seven miles through the forest and the swamp to his town in the interior. Here they were shown into the palavar hall, or hut, and awaited his coming. Finally the King met them and shook hands with them, but

was morose and angry, and demanded "what you want that land for." Though fully stated before, the object was explained over again. In the meantime a large number of the savages had collected and appeared to be much excited, when Captain Stockton, apprehending danger, arose and took a seat near the King. It happened that some time before this, a young African had been taken to Sierra Leone to be educated, and had unfortunately died there. One of those present, now charged the Agents with having carried him away and killed him. Another presented himself to Captain Stockton, and told him that he was one of those whom he, the Captain, had recently captured, and then told the savage assembly that this was the very person who had lately captured several of the slave ships. Dr. Alexander, who fully explains these circumstances, says "the presence of these men accounted for the change which had taken place in the feelings of the King and his people. The situation of the agents was now critical in the extreme; surrounded by a multitude of savages exasperated in the highest degree by the communications which had been made by these men. They were also entirely unarmed, except that Captain Stockton had his pistols in his pocket. In a moment the vengeful feelings of the multitude broke out in a horrid war yell, and every one of them rose to his feet in the most menacing aspect. At this critical moment, Captain Stockton perceiving that immediate violence was intended, deliberately rose, and drawing a pistol presented it to the head of the King, and raising his hand to Heaven, protested against the injustice with which they had been treated and throwing themselves on the protection of God, threatened instant death to the King on the first act of violence they should dare to commit. This act of extraordinary courage and self-possession was the means, doubtless, under God, of saving the lives of these two brave men. The King was intimidated, and the multitude fearing for his life, which they saw was in great peril, fell flat on their faces; and in a little while, the first impulse of savage rage having subsided, they became calm, and the palaver went on more amicably than before. Thus, by the prudence and perseverance of Dr. Ayres, and by the energy, chivalrous courage, and extraordinary self-possession of Captain Stockton, the greatest obstacle to the success of the Colonization enterprise was overcome," and a treaty was soon after executed in due form conveying the territory.

Thus was laid the foundation of the American settlement on the African Coast, and shortly afterwards it was taken possession of and occupied by the emigrants, and in honor of the then President of the United States—who was a warm friend of the cause—was named

MONROVIA, perhaps as conspicuous and enduring a monument as has been reared to his name.

Dr. Ayres did not long remain in Africa after these events, but making suitable arrangements there, returned to the United States, and was soon after succeeded by Mr. Ashmun—a name ever memorable in the history of African Colonization—who arrived in charge of a number of emigrants, and took the direction of the affairs of the Colony. He was every way, and eminently qualified for his difficult post; besides being a Christian and a philanthropist, he was a statesman and a hero.

He immediately proceeded to organize the Society, and found an ample field for the exercise of every faculty. Houses were to be erected to shelter themselves, provisions to be raised for their future subsistence—every thing, in short, that devolves upon an infant colony remained to be done. He also took care to keep up their religious observances, and to provide the means for the education of the young.

But, besides all this, they were but a feeble handful, in the midst of a savage and barbarous people, in a distant land, far from help and succour. He knew, too, that the slave dealer, the only dealers on these solitary waters—were extremely jealous of the settlement, and had notice that they had instigated the natives to attack and expel them. It became his duty, therefore, to prepare for the last resort of arms; and he did so with a degree of foresight and skill, and with an energy of purpose that gave sure proof of the mind of a master, and inspired confidence and courage in his followers. Officers were named and assigned their respective places; the men were drilled and exercised daily; picket guards were detailed, and watches kept up day and night; stockades were erected and a few pieces of cannon so arranged as to sweep all the approaches to the little settlement. He was indefatigable in watching and seeing to every thing, and was ably and zealously supported by the colonists.

Finally, the prudence of his precautions was amply demonstrated. The attack was made by large numbers, vastly disproportioned to the handful of defenders, and the danger was imminent in the extreme. But by the blessing of God, and the aid of their defences and their valor, they repelled the assault with extraordinary loss to the assailants. There was one terrific incident in the repulse calculated to excite a thrill of horror. The front of the savage assailants having been checked, they endeavoured to give way, but were held in position in a narrow passage by their own rear. In this position, a long nine pounder which had been elevated on a platform, was brought to bear at a short distance

on this living mass, and being a long column every shot seemed to spend its force in human flesh. The carnage was dreadful, and with a horrid yell they broke and ran in terror and consternation.

Besides the advantage of present escape from fire and sword on the part of the colonists, of whom but few were injured, this had the additional effect of inspiring the savages with the greatest dread of their prowess. Notwithstanding this, however, such was the influence of the traders, and the deadly exasperation of the natives, that another attack was made a few weeks after, which was also signally repulsed with much loss to them. They now consented to a new treaty of peace, which they had refused to accede to after their first defeat, and thus a better foundation was laid for their future security. In speaking of this last engagement, Mr. Ashmun bears high testimony to the conduct of his companions in danger, by saying that "not the most veteran troops could have behaved with more coolness nor shown greater firmness than the settlers on this occasion.

But the labors of Ashmun—his ability, his zeal, his courage, his success—are themes I may not enter on here. They form the subject of an interesting volume by a coadjutor in the cause, who was well qualified to judge of his varied merits. He continued his faithful and useful services for several years, when his declining health obliged him to suspend his labors and to seek a restoration by returning home; but his strength barely lasted to bring him to his native shores.

The colony was left in the charge of the Rev. Lott Cary, a colored Baptist preacher, who had shown himself able and faithful in peace and in war, and who discharged his new duties in such a way as to receive the praise of the colonists there, and of the Society here. He was said to "have a mind which rose in strength in proportion to the pressure by which it was urged."

The agencies of Dr. Randall, Dr. Mechlin, Mr. Pinney, and Dr. Skinner, with their various operations, and their acquisitions of territory, and the action of the State of Maryland, and the Society of that State, in purchasing and settling a new colony, I must pass over, merely remarking that the work was gradually progressing and growing in favor with the benevolent and philanthropic. The various religious denominations, or at least several of them, in their conventions, associations, synods, and conferences, adopted resolutions expressing the most favorable opinions, and cast their eyes in the direction of Africa as opening a most promising field for successful missionary labor. The legislatures of several of the States, too, expressed similar sentiments in formal resolutions, and I am glad to be able to say, that our own was among

the number. In the pamphlet laws of 1828-9, a preamble and resolution may be found showing that the sentiment of Pennsylvania, was then, as ever, in favor of rendering aid to our colored population. I will not read, but beg leave to refer you to them as proving the correctness of what I say.

During the period of the agencies I have just enumerated, the government of the colony was managed through the instrumentality of agents and vice agents, but under the authority not only of the Parent Society, but, to a certain extent, of different State Societies here, and emigrants were continued to be sent from year to year. In 1839, however, a new order of things was instituted, and all of the colonies with the exception of Maryland, in Liberia, were formed into one commonwealth under the management of a general Board of Directors, and Thomas Buchanan, was appointed Governor. He possessed rare qualifications for the post. Having been in Africa before, as the agent of the Pennsylvania Society, he was familiar with their wants, and was a most able and devoted friend of the cause. He proceeded to the scene of his labors with a party of emigrants and relieved Mr. Williams, a colored clergyman, the present Vice President of the Republic, from the duties of agent, which he had discharged to the entire satisfaction of the board here and of the colonists there.

Governor Buchanan entered at once with zeal and ardor on the discharge of his duties, which were various and onerous. He had taken out a sugar mill, agricultural implements, trade goods and stores; and was desirous of stimulating the industry and improving the condition of the people. But he soon found unexpected duties to perform. Again instigated by the slave dealers, a violent attack was made by the natives on one of the stations at some distance from the seat of Government. The Governor promptly adopted the most vigorous measures to repel the attack and to suppress the revolt, and put the volunteers and militia, which had been well organized, in motion for the purpose. In this and a subsequent expedition of a similar kind, he was triumphantly successful, evincing courage and ability of a high order. He was ably and bravely seconded by his emigrant followers, of whom he bears the most honorable testimony. Of Elijah Johnson, "the veteran hero of the memorable defence of Monrovia," he speaks in high terms, as he does also of Col. Roberts, the present President of the Republic, who showed signal evidence of courage as well as of judgment and skill. I cannot enter into the details of these proceedings, but they are of thrilling interest and amply repay a perusal. Buchanan's administration was most enlightened, active, and useful, but not of long duration.

Zealous and indefatigable, he labored beyond the powers of his constitution to endure in a climate so unfriendly to it, and died at Bassa Cove, while on a visit on official business in September 1841. His memory is cherished in grateful remembrance by all his co-laborers in African Colonization. Jehudi Ashmun, and Thomas Buchanan, are bright names among the martyrs in this great work.

The death of Governor Buchanan devolved the government on Joseph J. Roberts, the Lieutenant Governor, who was shortly after, having displayed remarkable abilities for the office, appointed by the Board of Directors as Governor of the Commonwealth. Governor Roberts continued in his office until 1847, when, for reasons of urgency and importance, and with the entire approbation of the Board here, the Commonwealth was merged into the Republic of Liberia.

This proceeding was characterized by the greatest propriety and deliberation. A convention was held of representatives from the different counties, of which Mr. Benedict, the present Chief Justice of the Republic was the President, and a Constitution was adopted on the model of our own, and constituting one of the freest and best governments among mankind. It was submitted to a vote of the people, with an address signed by Mr. Benedict explaining its provisions and objects, and ratified by general consent; and Liberia became a free and independent Republic, and assumed its place among the nations of the earth. Governor Roberts was elected President, and Anthony D. Williams Vice President; and the various departments of the government were filled by competent men, who had shown themselves worthy of public confidence and support.

Thus, gentlemen, in about twenty-five years from the planting of the first colony on Cape Mesurado—which may be regarded as the real commencement of practical colonization—was there erected by emancipated slaves and free colored people of the United States, together with some recaptured Africans, on the distant shores of the land of their fathers, a government which has no parallel in any part of the old world, and which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, we may reasonably hope will extend a happy, perhaps a controlling influence over that hitherto benighted quarter of the globe.

Since the establishment of their independence, the Republic has progressed prosperously, and to the satisfaction of its friends. England, France, Belgium and Prussia, have acknowledged and recognised their government, and entered into treaty stipulations to their mutual advantage; and by a very recent publication I observe that a Charge d'affaires from the Emperor of Brazil, had arrived at Monrovia for a similar pur-

pose. He was one, it was stated, who had been on the coast as an officer of the Brazilian Navy, and his disgust at the slave trade had prompted him to exertion to terminate its horrors. Their government has been conducted and administered with wisdom and justice. Their public functionaries have evinced a degree of capacity for their difficult tasks that could scarcely have been anticipated by those who had opportunities of knowing them before they became really free, and which our observation of those of the race who remain on this continent can hardly enable us to realize. If I may be permitted to form a judgment on such a subject, I would say that the messages and writings of President Roberts would reflect no discredit on any country or any people. Religion and schools are a striking characteristic of their settlements. It has been observed that in no other country is there so large a number of churches and of professing Christians in proportion to the population. Schools are public and free, and of a good order. Mr. James, a colored teacher, has obtained an excellent reputation in a private institution; and a high school has been established, bearing the honored name of Alexander—in memory of an eminent and distinguished friend of this cause and of the cause of humanity—which cannot fail to exert a most beneficial influence. Its principal is a Mr. Wilson, a graduate of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, who is well qualified for his important post, and is said to be the only white man in the Republic.

Their territories, too, have grown with their growth. They have been extended from Maryland in Liberia almost to the British Colony of Sierra Leone, and to a considerable extent in the interior. Thus an effectual barrier has been interposed along the whole of this coast, extending, inclusive of the above named colonies, about seven hundred miles to the piratical and nefarious trade of the slaver. Treaties have been made with many of the native tribes on principles of justice and moderation, and 150,000 to 200,000 of them have become citizens of the Republic, who desire the benefit of its protection, and wish to become acquainted with its religion, its language and its laws. All their treaties stipulate for the total abandonment of the slave trade, and for the abolition of the sacrifice of human life, either in superstitious rites, or by the awful ordeal, by which thousands have been destroyed, of taking the poisonous decoction of sassa wood.

Their productions have increased; their commerce has increased; their comforts have increased; and new elements of wealth and of enjoyment have been opened to the world in the produce of this fruitful, and in some respects, favored land. The desert place has been made

glad, and the wilderness to blossom as the rose. The banner of the cross, and of light, and of liberty, has been raised on this once stronghold of Satan, and they will wave, it is hoped, to the end of time. And all this has been effected by the feeble instrumentality of a few thousand colored emigrants, who had received their lessons in their intercourse with us, and starting under the care of a few enlightened, devoted and intrepid leaders, who, mostly, soon yielded their lives to their zeal, and became tenants of a martyr's grave. While, however, the climate proved deleterious to them, it did not prove so, to an uncommon extent, to the emigrant, which seems to show the difference in the constitution of the races, and that one is adapted to the torrid zone, and that the other is not. A majority of the whole number of the emigrants were emancipated slaves, freed for the purpose of colonization. Some few were purchased for the purpose, and the most of the remainder were free colored persons, who broke, no doubt, many dear ties to establish for themselves and their posterity a better home. Some of them were recaptured Africans, taken from the slavers by our public vessels and sent out as before mentioned, by the government of the United States, *which, besides the African squadron, shows the extent of governmental participation in this great enterprise.* The rest has been effected by voluntary donations and bequests from benevolent individuals; and the history of the world may be challenged for the exhibition of an equal amount of good by such inconsiderable means. It ought, however, to be stated, that the Maryland colony is an exception to this rule. It was established under the auspices of the State, which with a noble public spirit and wise forecast, appropriated \$10,000 per annum for twenty years, which it should be mentioned to its honor, it has regularly paid even under the pressure of financial difficulties. The State of Virginia, too, is now a liberal contributor for the colonization of her own free negroes, and other States, it is hoped, will soon imitate the laudable example.

Since the independence of Liberia, and the abandonment of the government of the colony by the American Colonization Society, there has continued the most cordial co-operation between them, and the Society has prospered more than before. There seems to be a growing sense throughout the country that the true means have been adopted for relieving us from a source of danger and of anxiety, and for elevating and blessing a race that has happened to be thrown in our midst. It has been the recipient of several large and liberal bequests. Among others, one from a citizen of our own State of \$10,000, and still later, not to mention many others, of the munificent bequest of the late Mr.

McDonogh of New Orleans, of \$25,000 per annum, for the period of forty years, which is now accruing, and will probably soon begin to flow into and replenish our coffers for its intended work. It should also be stated of this same remarkable man, that in his lifetime he liberated more than seventy of his slaves, and made generous and ample provision for their colonization. They are now free citizens of the free Republic of Liberia. The operations of the Society for the last year have been satisfactory and cheering. A larger number of emigrants have been sent out than in any previous year, several of them from our own State. Means have been furnished to such as are of good character and industrious habits, as required them, to go, and farmers and mechanics have been sent, who may be extremely useful and valuable members of society in their new home. One large and interesting party, of upwards of 150, left on the first of November, composed of really industrious and valuable people. They had with them, partly by our aid, an excellent new steam-engine, saw-mill, and other machinery, under the charge of a competent colored engineer; and soon the steam-whistle may be heard in that lately desert place. We have lately had the pleasure to hear of their safe arrival.

The Society are now anxious to increase their means of usefulness, and to offer a passage to the land of their ancestors to such of the race as desire to be men—free and equal with their fellow men. As I have already said, they desire state aid. They desire it, not only for the sake of the additional means it will directly afford them for their work, but also for the sake of the influence of such an example.

And they ought to have it. As I have previously hurriedly stated, the presence of these people among us has been a source of deep concern for many years. I have only ventured to glance at some of the events of our history to sustain this assertion; but you will think of much to prove it in addition to what I have said. And colonization is the only remedy that has been devised consistent with the welfare of both the races. It is agreed upon by wise and good men of all parties; of all sections; of all creeds. It separates from us a race with whom it seems in the order of Providence there can be no amalgamation, no homogeneousness; a race which must always be a distinct and incongruous people—to whom our climate is not congenial, who seem not to be of us, and who appear under a necessity to give place to the influx and increase of the whites. Their destiny seems about to be accomplished here, and their field of labor, and usefulness, and honor, is now distinctly opened in the land of their fathers. Thither the “pillar of cloud” seems to point their way. That seems to be congenial to them,

to their physical constitution, and to their mental improvement; and there indeed, to the great joy of their true friends and of the friends of humanity, they appear to be elevated to the standard, not only of religious men—for that many of them are here—but also, to the standard of free, enlightened and brave men, capable of establishing and maintaining a government of liberty and order of their own. This, perhaps, is their inheritance from us; this, perhaps, their compensation for whatever of wrong they may have endured in their past history; this, perhaps, was their mission, fore-ordained; this, perhaps, if it be not too presumptuous, was the order and design of the Divine Being—who sees the end from the beginning, and with whom a thousand years are as a single day—in permitting them to be brought to these shores. This may be the accomplishment of their work. It has been suggested that their instrumentality was indispensable to the opening and early cultivation of the southern coast of this continent. That the constitution of the European or Caucasian race could not endure this work, though when opened they might occupy and cultivate it. This perhaps is hardly within the scope of our finite ken. But it opens a field for interesting reflection. That the all wise and just One should permit these people to be forcibly and wickedly torn, even from their heathen homes, to be carried to distant shores, and there in bondage and degradation to be made the instruments of opening a land which He designed to bless, even to the enlightening and healing of the nations; and there, in return, to receive the light of the Gospel, with all its attendant blessings of civilization and liberty, in order that they, or their descendants, might carry it back to bless the land of their forefathers. Wonderful as it is, it may nevertheless be so, and exhibit one of His ways of bringing good out of evil. Would it not seem to be in accordance with that remarkable Scripture which says, “Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee: the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain.” Here, in the blessing of a CONTINENT, with its hundreds of millions, may this be illustrated and exemplified, and the wrath of man be made to praise Him! And here, too, by the means of colonization, in the civilization of Africa and the consequent breaking up of the slave trade, may we see that the wrath of man shall be restrained. Thus the wickedness and cupidity of man are made the instruments of incalculable good! We desire that this work shall go on as it is progressing, and be established and consolidated. We desire that an offshoot from our land shall take root there, and spring up and grow into a mighty nation, a blessing to themselves and to others; and that they may there attract the gaze of the sons of Africa, wherever they be scattered on the face of the earth.—

Colonization is not to be regarded as a perpetual work. I doubt not that the children of that land will yet desire as ardently to return there as the children of Israel desired to return to their land of promise from Egypt or from Babylon. Like them, some may faint by the way.—Some, as of old, may prefer to serve the Egyptians; but the work will go on—gradually, probably, but certainly and effectually, in God's own good time. Circumstances now are arising which seem to say in a voice not to be misunderstood, "Speak to the children of Ham, that they go forward," and the tramp of the host is already resounding in the air.

The Colonization Society was formed, as I have stated, to colonize free persons of color; but, as I have also stated, the greater part of the whole number of emigrants yet sent, were emancipated slaves. The course of things in the Southern States is calculated to increase the disposition to send both these descriptions of persons. The citizens of that section of our Union have become very jealous of the presence of the free blacks, and efforts are being made and money appropriated to induce them to emigrate. And where can they go? The Northern States, by their legislation, are being shut up against them; and every reason concurs in favor of their going—where they will be helped to go by our benevolent labors—to their father-land. At the same time that they are jealous of the presence of the free blacks, there is a strong disposition to emancipate, on the part of the owners. But to this the laws interpose obstacles, unless a home is provided for them out of the State. Another difficulty is, that many sincerely believe that the slaves will not be benefited by a residence, and what is called freedom, in the Northern States. Colonization is thus, in effect, connected with emancipation. And many will emancipate provided they can colonize, and the feeling for both is constantly increasing. Though it may not have progressed as rapidly as its frail, finite friends could desire, yet it is all in good time. We are often unreasonable in our haste, and hurt ourselves by our hot and blind pursuit. What! "shall a nation be born at once?" He who sitteth on the circle of the earth shall accomplish it all as seemeth to Him meet. But we think we hear his command that it shall "go forward" as was said to his chosen ones before, and obedient to the mandate we move onward, and invite you to come up to our help. In this, as in all things which He ordains to success, natural causes are co-operating. The immense emigration to our own country is furnishing an abundant supply of labor, and to the extent that it is furnished it is preferred to that of the blacks, whom it supplants. And here seems another mystery. The compulsory labor of these people

was obtained when the demand was greater than the supply, and thus the improvement of the country has been largely accelerated by their means. Now the supply of labor is so vastly augmented, that the service of the colored man is far less in demand. And this is an important view of the case as it affects his welfare. We may notice how he is driven from one occupation to another, until his field is limited and circumscribed to those that remunerate the least. And this condition of things is progressing continually, and rendering the free States less and less inviting to him. Were it not that colonization offers a resource to the colored race, this would present a most gloomy view of their prospects. Driven from occupation they would become vagabonds and outcasts, and impelled by despair to violence and crime; bloodshed, if not extermination, would to human sagacity seem the inevitable result. Let us build up Liberia as a home for them. Let it grow in strength, and consistency, and attractions, year by year, and as the pressure of the white population bears upon them here, let them see brighter and better prospects dawn upon them from their native shores, where their brethren have gone before, and where they may follow and feel that they have a home. Let them press on and occupy that whole coast from the great desert to the equator, and from the line to its southern Cape of Good Hope. Let them carry our language as the vehicle of liberty, civilization, and christianity throughout the borders of Africa, and pour in in floods to enlighten and elevate her benighted sons, "not as encroaching conquerors, but as returning brothers."

The disposition among the colored people to emigrate is also growing. They are becoming more convinced that it is better for them to go to Liberia—the land of freedmen, than to go to the bleak cold North, or than to remain here. We have a number of applications now for passage from different parts of our own State, and also of the State of New Jersey, most of whom will be sent. And here I should say, New Jersey, at the present session of her Legislature, has become a contributor to the work. A considerable company from Susquehanna county have lately applied to us for information, and will probably soon be on their way to where they may be citizens and voters. From Berks, Montgomery, and Washington counties, there are applications, as well as from our own city, and the tide continues to swell. Last year some were sent from Lycoming, and Mifflin, and Lancaster counties. And to all of good character and industrious habits, we say, to the extent of our means, come on. We say, if you think, as we think, that Africa is the land of promise to you, the way is open, with all the information and every facility that we can afford.

But yet the disposition to go is not so general as from the advantages proposed we might at first thought expect. This, however, upon more reflection, we must not allow to surprise or discourage us. Love of home is a strong instinct of our nature. It is patriotism; and strong reasons and inducements must exist to get us away. But when a current of emigration arises, it often goes with a mighty rush. This has been witnessed in many cases in the world's history, and will be witnessed again in the history of this impulsive people. They linger yet, seeming

"Rather to bear those ills they have,
Than fly to others that they know not of,"

and of which they have been taught to form exaggerated fears. But when better informed, and when they see the current in motion, they will join the throng and move on in a mighty mass.

And now, ought the State to lend its aid in this great work? We again say, we think it ought. According to the last census there were upwards of 53,000 free blacks, so called, in this commonwealth, scattered throughout the State. But this is a misnomer. That they are not free in any proper sense we think is apparent. They are not citizens; they do not vote; they do not sit on your juries; they have no voice in your government. They are under the ban of an indelible caste: reduced to the lowest choice of employments; are worse fed, worse clothed, worse housed, worse cared for, than any portion of your population. I am far from wishing to exaggerate, and might say more within the limits of truth. Is it a wonder that a benevolent owner would hesitate to emancipate his slave to send him to such a doom? They have taxation without representation; they are the subjects of ridicule and contumely by the unfeeling and the inconsiderate, and of the pity and sorrow of the kind-hearted; and are burdened by a load of obloquy, of discrimination, and disqualification, grievous to be borne, and which long habit alone can reconcile them to. Mr. Birney, who has long been a warm and active friend of the race, has lately said of them, "they have but a low standard of liberty," which, indeed, is all that we could reasonably expect, and it would seem that there is no prospect of anything better for them here. To make them citizens, paradoxical as it may appear, would not render their situation better. The effect of such a measure would be to convert sympathy and commiseration, into hatred and jealousy. Invested with the right of suffrage, almost from the necessity of their position, they would be banded together, and if they should decide a warmly contested election, whether for President, Governor, legislative or local officers, an excitement would result

that could scarcely be peaceably calmed. The two races would glare upon each other with a feverish antagonism which nothing but bloodshed would be likely to allay.

They are besides no inconsiderable charge to the public. It is said there is a large proportion of them in our almshouses, prisons and houses of refuge; and if by circumstances—by the curtailment of employment—their situation should be rendered worse, this evil and expense must proportionably increase. We propose then, both as a measure of public policy, as well as of justice to them, that the State make some provision under the peculiar circumstances of their case, for the removal of such of these people from our own State as may desire to go to the land of their fathers. We are strongly persuaded that it is just, that it is expedient, that it is wise, that it should do so; and we respectfully, but earnestly, beg leave to urge the adoption of such a measure. We do so as citizens, who have a common interest in the general welfare. We have no interest in it separate from that of our fellow citizens at large. We have no interest in the removal of these people except that we think it will be for their good, and for the peace and safety of our common country. We are the friends and well wishers of these people as well as of our own, and desire to promote *their* welfare by aiding them to a better home, and *our* safety and peace by removing an element of danger and of strife, as also a memorial of injustice, from among us; and this we think the most certain mode to affect it.

Other States have moved in this direction, and have appropriated certain sums towards the payment of the expenses of such emigrants as should leave such States, not to exceed a given amount, say, from one to ten thousand dollars per annum, and for a certain period of years to come. The amount paid by the Society for each adult emigrant is fifty dollars, and half that sum for children, except infants. Now we think that our own State, the great central State—of whose wealth, dignity, and philanthropy, we have so much reason to be proud—should not be behind her sisters in this good work.

But it is also a labor of justice as well as of love. What have we done for this portion of our population? Our fathers struck the shackles from their manacled limbs; but we have done nothing except to provide court-houses, and alms-houses, and jails! Let us now offer them something better—at least a better alternative.—Let us say to them—not with menaces or frowns, but with gentleness and kindness, as a father would say to an unfortunate son.—The circumstances here seem to be against you; the prospects are against

you, and there is little or no hope for any improvement; now *there* is a country where appearances are more favorable, where your hopes may be more bright, where you will have no prejudice to encounter, where you may be freemen indeed; there you may rise to the full stature of man; there the government will be your own—exclusively your own! and there you may demonstrate your capacity for self-government, your capacity for improvement; and may make for yourselves a name and a place among the nations of the earth. You may be vastly useful there, too, to your fellow men. You may, and you will, be missionaries of our blessed religion and of our glorious institutions. You may break up the slave trade—that abominable wrong, and you may break down superstition and idolatry, and be the honored and favored instruments of elevating and saving thousands of your benighted race. We may ask them if they will accept this mission? If they will try it? If they will cheerfully and voluntarily make this effort to benefit themselves, their posterity, and their fellow men? If they will, here is a passage and an outfit. It is all we can offer. We may say, we cannot consistently with our own peace and welfare invite you to stay here. The protection of our own households require us to withhold any inducement to you to do so, and *your* good requires you should go. If you do so, we bid you God speed, and pray that our common Father may watch over and bless you.

Gentlemen, the participation we propose to you in this work is not unworthy of you, or of your position. You have the future welfare of the State to look to, as well as its present affairs, and the same might be said to the Congress of the nation. Your legislative business is important, and it properly occupies the great portion of your time. But if you can avert a threatened future danger by a wise forecast, I am sure you will all agree that it is deserving of your anxious care.—Or if you may aid in the founding of a great and free empire by an incidental movement, you will surely do so. Now here you may do both. When the people of the little town of Palos, in the midst of their daily avocations, saw the Genoese adventurer set out with his handful of followers to seek a New World, they perhaps only paused to give an involuntary shrug or a contemptuous sneer, and passed on absorbed in their temporary affairs. These affairs were soon all forgotten, though necessary and proper, but the mariner did a work that will live forever, and the highest title to glory of kings and princes, is that they aided in the enterprise. Gentlemen, our constant daily labors make up the sum of life, and I would not derogate from their importance. But it occasionally happens in the history of the world that some grand

event is to grow out of a small and insignificant beginning; and here we offer you one such in which you may have, like Ferdinand and Isabella, the glory of participation.

It may be proper, perhaps, that I should anticipate a doubt that some may entertain as to whether our plan, if so desirable and beneficial, is really capable of being carried into execution. In answer to such, we would point to what has already been accomplished—accomplished by the aid of feeble means, and under many and great disadvantages. But besides this, I would also refer to the spirit of the age in which we live, to the experience of the past, and to the mighty movements that we witness around us. In view of these, who will be so bold as to dare to set a limit to what is possible at the present day? But in regard to colonization, this is peculiarly and emphatically its day. Emigrations of large bodies of men have taken place at other periods of the history of the world; but they were comparatively spasmodic. Now they are regular, uniform, constant, and have been so, but increasing in degree and extent, since the first settlement of this continent. Within seven years it is probable the emigration to the United States has been equal to the whole number of our colored population. In earlier times it had difficulties to contend with that do not now exist. It was impeded, by governmental policy. One of the charges against George the Third in the Declaration of Independence, was that he obstructed emigration hither, by refusing his assent to naturalization laws. He firmly asserted his claim to the perpetual allegiance of every subject born in his dominions. The right of expatriation on the other hand was maintained with equal firmness by the Americans, and Mr. Jefferson exerted his great ability and authority in its support. The British government, however, did not yield, but insisted that allegiance was forever due, and it was the practical assertion of this principle, by the forcible impressment of supposed British born subjects, even though under the shelter of our own flag, that, more than anything else, led to what we justly call our second war of independence. That right has never been formally surrendered to this day; but it is hoped that it will never again be attempted to be enforced—at least against us. But this scarcely belongs to my subject, and I merely refer to it as an illustration of the progress of our age in the matter of emigration—which is one of its great and striking characteristics. And this emigration is still going on—the cry is still they come. Every wave of the ocean as it breaks upon our shores seems to bear on its bosom increasing numbers of the mighty host, and as they land, they spread to the North, and to the South, and Westward they wend their way; not, however, as other hosts have done

in other lands, leaving death and devastation in their train, but, on the contrary, marking their course by railroads, canals, and all manner of useful improvements. They come to create, not to destroy; to build up, not to tear down, and adapt themselves with wonderful facility to our institutions and system. Hitherto this tide of emigration has flowed mainly to the north of the Ohio, and has aided immensely in the development of the west. But this may not always be so. Natural causes—the wages of labor, governed by the laws of supply and demand, may press the tide within the borders of the Southern States, and first the white may crowd and then supplant the black man in the fields of the South. And then how desirable that the latter should have his African home as a better resource. Let us be careful to have it prepared for him, and each nation may then become a homogenous mass.

This mighty influx among us may not be unattended with some disadvantages. Where is there any good which has been.

“The web of life is of a mingled yarn,
The good and ill together.”

But it has many advantages also. Like charity, it blesses both him that comes and him that receives. It aids in improving and cultivating our lands, in increasing our productions, in building up our cities, and in adding to our wealth and greatness; and in the second generation they are Americans, with no distinctions to separate them from the rest of the community around them; with equal rights and privileges, eligible to every station, and with no mark to separate or to make discord and division. And thus they come, as it has been said, as though the wide Atlantic was spanned by a bridge of boats and the two continents were joined in one.

To estimate what may be practicable, let us again cast our eyes around us. See what has sprung up within the last ten years. If seven years ago any one had said, that a railroad would now be built to Pittsburg, he would have been regarded as more wild and extravagant, than he would now be if he were to say that in ten we will have one to the Pacific. Impossible! seems to be nearly stricken from our vocabulary. Texas, Oregon, and California, were then remote, unknown, and scarcely approachable. Now they seem near and familiar. The wilds of Darien were then rarely trod and but little known. Now a railroad to Panama, steamboats to Nicaragua, and a canal meditated at Tehuantepec, make them all as familiar as household words, and renders the Isthmus alive with bustle and animation. The giant steamer

breaks the solitude of the Pacific, with anxious thousands for the El Dorado, and returns laden with the golden freight. Cities spring up

“As by the magic of the enchanter’s wand.”

And even the isles of the South sea are proposed to be annexed, while the Celestials are coming over to shake hands with the outside barbarians, and to gather gold in the Snowy Mountains. A friend lately remarked, that “the world seemed to be getting small.” Certainly our scope of vision seems to be getting enlarged, and to embrace the four quarters of the globe as near and familiar objects.

“Where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
Showers on her Kings barbaric pearls and gold;”

which we have been accustomed to regard so mysteriously—seems now to be brought even near to our doors, and that practical thing, the steamer, is destroying many of our pleasant illusions. That East has now become our West, and we will seek her treasures, by way of the setting sun: the iron horse will soon be speeding over our western wilds with passengers and freight for the Flowery Kingdom.

And are these wonders realities, or likely to be so, and shall we faint at the prospect of crossing the Atlantic to another part of the old world to return her wandering children? No, never. The word is “onward,” and “we have a great work to do and cannot come down” nor can we despair or halt by the way. This work was commenced before these wonders were accomplished, or dreamed of, to encourage its founders. Steam was not then generated for Ocean navigation. Commerce had not so many white wings to waft it across. But yet those far-seeing, great hearted men laid the foundations; and laid them in wisdom, in justice and in moderation. And the work will now go on, and with these new aids, it will go on with increased momentum. The Republic of Liberia will be gradually but rapidly enlarged; new territories will be acquired from the natives as fast as it is really required; industry and production will be increased, and commerce also as their hand-maid. This in time will increase the facility for emigration, and they act and re-act on each other. The steamer will soon puff along the silent coast of Africa, and stir up the waters of the long sought Niger, frightening away the guilty slaver. The slave trade will be broken down, and as that goes down legitimate trade goes up.

Gentlemen, I have not referred to that nefarious trade, that “piratical warfare,” in terms to express my feelings of it, nor to paint its horrid deformity. We are all accustomed to regard it with loathing and hor-

ror; and well we may. And yet our view can hardly embrace the whole of its enormity. We look at it, perhaps, only in part, though it is so revolting that we can scarce bear to look at it at all. But if we do, we look at the slaves in the horrors of the middle passage, packed away in the smallest possible space, and then sold in the markets to perpetual and hereditary bondage. Possibly we may also cast our eyes to the "barracoon" or "factory" and see them there sometimes branded and then dragged or driven under the lash to their floating prisons, to be carried in privation and suffering to their destined market or to a watery grave—an alternative by no means uncommon. So far from being uncommon is it, that it has been said that every foot of the bottom of the Atlantic on the track of the trade has been paved with the black man's bones, and every wave has been his winding sheet. We may have thought of these things. But have we also thought of the slave hunt—of the midnight raid. The slaver sells his gew gaws, perhaps some cottons, his spirits, powder, lead, guns and swords—implements of destruction, to the savage chief, and barter for his living cargo; and the latter, to meet his contract, sends his war parties on his weaker neighbors, surprise them in their midnight slumbers and murdering the young and the old, carries off the youth and the middle aged in fetters and yokes. Is it not plain that such a traffic must be destructive to all others? Protection and security are necessary to production, and production is necessary to trade and commerce. Who will till and plant and make them homes, where they are liable to have their all—their life, their liberty, torn away by such savage and ruthless barbarity.

But I will not dwell on its sickening details. It will be seen that Africa must be redeemed from barbarism to be rendered productive and fruitful, and experience has shown that she is productive and fruitful when so redeemed. The commerce of the Republic—civilized and christianized, is as I have remarked, already considerable, and constantly augmenting. Their productions are such as have enriched other nations, and in time doubtless, will enrich them. The soil and climate are favorable to abundant fruitfulness. Cotton, coffee, sugar, indigo, dye woods, ivory, gold dust, rice, and many other articles of food, together with various rich and luscious fruits, are natives of the land. The palm nut is a valuable production. The oil manufactured from it is now one of their principal articles of export, as it is also of consumption, being used there as the oil of the olive is in the East. A million and a half of gallons were probably exported last year, principally to England and the ports of the Mediterranean, and a considerable quantity to this country. I lately saw it highly praised in a Philadelphia City adver-

tisement. And these productions all increase in a rapid ratio. As the natives come to feel increased security against the inroads of the slave hunters, they, as well as the emigrants, become producers of all these articles, and the markets of Liberia are their commercial emporium. "The land is good," let its children go on to possess and redeem it. The inducements offered to them to emigrate are greater than are presented to any other people on the face of the earth. They are returning to their own ancestral land, and to their brethren and friends, freemen themselves, and bearing freedom to others. They will go. It is not possible that they will continue blind to such prospects—to such hopes. As they go, as I have already observed, the facilities will increase for others to follow: and they may continue to go in geometrical progression. We have strong hopes that our government will afford its aid by the establishment of a line of suitable vessels from our different ports—and we hope Philadelphia will be one of them—to the African Coast. The plan is maturing in competent hands, and we hope for a favorable result.

England, too, that mighty power on the deep, is lending solid and efficient aid. Besides her African squadron, and her considerable commerce along the coast—the largest of any nation—she has an important settlement down in the interior, at Abeokuta, near the mouth of the Niger. It is formed of liberated captives retaken from the slavers, and numbering many thousands, some of whom have been well trained at Sierra Leone. They have also faithful and able English Missionaries, and competent native teachers, who are instructing them in our language and arts, our religion and laws, and their influence is irradiating the darkened regions around them. Here, too, the slavers have been driven to desperation, and have incited the natives to hostile opposition. It was here, at Lagos, that a somewhat severe and bloody contest was had with the boats of the British squadron, of which we have lately received accounts. It was severely contested, but the result cannot be doubtful. The trade must soon be driven from this its late stronghold, and, that accomplished, it will have disappeared from the desert of Zahara to the delta of the Niger—a distance of upwards of two thousand miles, and embracing a coast where millions have been carried to bondage or to the bottom of the deep. The shores of Africa are now becoming a frequented highway, and will continue, to be coasted by increasing numbers in lawful trade.

Our commerce, in the nature of things, must also increase with them, and may be mutually extremely advantageous—the more so as we will get their raw productions, and they our manufactured articles. This

will lend wings for the flight of those who may desire to return there, and before this generation passes away we may see here, too, the bridge of boats reaching from shore to shore, thronged by thousands and accompanied by a beneficial exchange of productions, of comforts and luxuries. We presume not to fix times nor seasons; but we foresee that the work will go on. We believe it is of God, and, if so, it cannot fail. He uses us to work out his ends in his own way, and in his own good time, though frequently they are dark and mysterious to us until they come to be revealed. In the familiar lines of the poet we have it beautifully expressed

“God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform.”

But he demands our feeble instrumentality—condescendingly permits us to aid in the accomplishment of his great designs, and it is our privilege as well as duty to be mindful of the call, lest we be called to account for the talent we have buried, and be banished as wicked and unprofitable servants. It is of Him that the work has prospered; it is of Him that it has not been permitted to proceed too fast. We sow, but we must wait before we reap; but we shall reap, if we faint not. It is of Him that the work is given to *us* to do. It was not given to Cuba; to St. Domingo; to Brazil, but to us, and to those we have trained and prepared to do it well. The stream does not rise above its source nor does the pupil at once surpass the teacher, nor would the slave be better qualified for free government than his French, or Spanish, or Portuguese master. It was to us that the teaching and training of the envoys of this great mission has been given, and wonderfully have they improved their opportunities and executed their task. It is a great mission: what can surpass it? It is the planting and building of an empire of liberty and christianity—and that, too, in the most barbarous and darkened corner of the world; an enduring monument of unspeakable honor.

We invite you to aid in it by giving it the sanction of our constituted authorities, and by making our State a partner in the blessed work. We believe that public opinion will sanction it: that public feeling will be pleased and gratified. It is now feebly submitted to you in this hasty and general sketch, and we submit it to you with the prayer that God will inspire you to act on it wisely and rightly. We have complied with the recommendation of the resolution on which I have predicated these remarks, and my part of the duty is done.

We have lately received intelligence of the onward progress of the

Republic, of the most cheering kind. A recent outbreak by a native chief at the instigation of white traders, has been promptly repressed and sternly rebuked. President Roberts—who so highly distinguished himself in Governor Buchanan's war—took the field in person and pursued the enemy into the bush and signally chastised him. His letters published in the newspapers give an interesting sketch of the proceedings, though the full accounts have not yet come to hand. We have many other letters of a gratifying character, some of which I have in my hand, and will be glad to show to any one who may feel an interest in the improvement of these people. There is one, however, that I must particularly allude to. It was written by a native African, who has never, it is believed, left his native shores, having received his education at the Episcopal Mission at Cape Palmas—a single specimen of the fruits of the great work in which they are engaged. The letter is a brief acknowledgment of a kindness rendered him, and referring to the sad event of the death of a friend, written in a free and easy hand; it would do honor to the head and heart of any man.

And now, gentlemen, one word more, and I will relieve your patience, which I fear I have already overtaxed. Although our work, as I have shown, was the offspring of a pure patriotism and a warm benevolence—although it was predicated upon a conviction that the separation of the races would result no less to the advantage of the black race than to the white, yet its founders and friends, however eminent and distinguished for all the virtues that most adorn our nature, have experienced the common lot, and afford another evidence of the far seeing penetration of the great poet, who says “Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny.” And so has it been with them. Since their organization, another party has arisen, who profess, and in many cases no doubt truly, great interest in the condition and welfare of the colored race. But our plans of amelioration differing entirely from theirs, they have not been content with advocating their own views, but have deemed it within their province to asperse ours. Their influence with the people of color, too, has been actively exerted to prevent emigration, and, doubtless, they have greatly succeeded in retarding its progress. It has been represented as the scheme of the tyrant and oppressor who seek only the banishment of the race, and that too to an unfriendly climate and to misery and want.

But, time, which reveals all things, has disproved their charges and falsified their predictions; and Colonization has taken a new impulse, and is now recommended even by some of those who have hitherto denounced it, as the best means to promote the colored man's good. It

will vindicate itself, and vindicate also the judgment and foresight of its illustrious founders and friends. Their characters need no vindication. They stand far beyond reproach, admired and venerated by their countrymen of the present, as they will be by those of future time. Gentlemen, to name them is to praise. But time would fail me to make an adequate enumeration. Let me, however, advert to the successive Presidents of the Parent Society. Who are they? Bushrod Washington, the just and pure; Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, who affixed his address as well as his name, to that instrument which placed his all in peril; James Madison, the father of our great bond of union; and Henry Clay, who though he has differed with many of us in his views of public policy, is nevertheless regarded by all with pride and veneration as the champion of his country's honor, as well as of the rights of man, and, as the statesman and patriot whose lofty eloquence has added lustre and renown to the American name—the ardent friend and advocate of Colonization. Bushrod Washington, Charles Carroll, James Madison, and Henry Clay, have been our successive Presidents; and Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, John Marshall, and a host of others—statesmen and philanthropists, of all sections of the country, of both our great political parties, and of all religious creeds—bishops, clergy, and laymen, have encouraged by their approbation and aided by their influence, in this great and practical good. Are these the men, gentlemen, to oppress or injure the poor African? Are these the men to trample on the weak and the unfortunate? Are these the tyrants and oppressors who would plant their heel on the rights of humanity? No, gentlemen; their names are a glorious refutation of all such aspersions, and their favor a vindication of the righteous cause in which they have been engaged. I might add many more. I would like to read to you the names of the Vice Presidents and officers of the Society—known and honored throughout the country; and those of our own and other auxiliary Societies, with that of our honorable and distinguished President, Joseph R. Ingersoll, among them, to prove to you that good, and not evil, is intended to the children of Africa in restoring them to the land of their fathers, where liberty and equality—without which liberty is but a name—are awaiting their acceptance, and where their brethren who have gone before, are beckoning them to come; where they will have no superior to acknowledge but their God, no sense of inferiority to restrain their faculties and to depress their energies, and to keep them in ignorance and subjection; but where—and perhaps where alone—they may rise to the full stature and dignity of men. Behold the monument, gentlemen, which their labors have reared. Where

thirty years ago, there was an unbroken wilderness and a solitude waste of waters, disturbed only by the curses and imprecations of the slaver, the groans of the victims, or the shouts of the victors, we now see a Free and Christian Republic created by their means, and by the instrumentality of colored emigrants from these shores. Truly this seems like a new "wonder in the land of Ham," and encourages us to hope that the little one shall become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation. Gentlemen, let Pennsylvania add a block to that monument.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED

IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

HARRISBURG, Pa.,

ON TUESDAY EVENING, APRIL 6, 1859.

BY

REV. JOHN P. DURBIN, D.D.

REV. DR. DURBIN'S ADDRESS.

General PACKER introduced the Rev. Dr. DURBIN, who said :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN ;

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES :

YOU will have learned from the gentleman who preceded me, that the cause which we have come to present to your favorable consideration, is not without a history, is not without fruits, not without promise. It is illustrated by the brightest names in the American annals, and is consecrated by the lives and deaths of some of the most excellent and devoted men of modern times. It is of immense importance to the continent of America, especially these United States, and is of great importance to the civilized world. It is not to be denied that there is a profound impression upon the minds of a large portion of the best of the people, that there is a taint of moral evil in slavery as it exists in the United States, and every citizen feels that it is now a powerfully disturbing element in our social and political institutions ; while many believe that it is injurious to our economical interests. All these considerations have strongly attracted public attention to the subject of slavery, and the question is now beginning to be asked by the patriotic, the most intelligent, and best part of our people—Ought not something to be done ? If so, what can be done ? We have come this evening to propose to you a practicable measure in answer to the question, *What can be done ?* A measure which if adopted by the States generally, will lead to its adoption by the General Government, and finally to a safe, equitable and peaceful solution of the only real danger that threatens our glorious Union.

What we propose is, as we trust we shall be able to show, a measure of public peace and safety—of public justice—of public benevolence—of public honor—and of national prosperity.

That something ought to be done is evident from the fact that it is becoming a dangerous political element, tending to array one section of this Union against the other, without respect to wholesome principles of good government and sound political economy. Look to our national capitol ; does not that magnificent dome vibrate daily from the

deep seated throes within, which spring from the subject of slavery? It is not a solution of the difficulty to say, this ought not to be, whether this declaration come from the South, burning with its sense of injustice and outrage upon its constitutional rights; or whether it come from the North, indignant at the stupendous wrong and violence done, in its judgment, to the natural and inalienable rights of men. These conflicting convictions are becoming sectional, *i. e.*, Southern and Northern; and, exasperated by the real or apparent conflict of Northern and Southern interests, whatever the hopeful or the daring citizen may say to the contrary, do threaten the prosperity if not the permanency of the union of these States. In this sectional conflict lies our danger; a danger that must be removed, no matter at what sacrifice of money, toil, and time.

But it is evident further that something ought to be done, and done quickly, because the danger is increasing by reason of the increase of the slave and free colored population. The whole white population of the country, by the Census of 1850, was 19,631,799; slave population, 3,198,324; free colored, 428,637. Total colored, 3,626,961.

This makes the white population about $5\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 of the black population.

The whole colored population increased from 1840 to 1850 at the rate of 26.22 per cent., which would double the colored population in 30 years.

In the slaveholding States the white population is 6,224,240, and the colored population 3,433,992. This gives not quite two white persons to one colored in the slaveholding States. Ten years ago the ratio was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ white persons to 1 colored in the slaveholding States. This shows a gain in ten years of one-fifth per cent. of the ratio of increase of the colored population of the South over the white: and, if this is maintained for fifty years more, the white and colored population will be equal in the slave States. Let us weigh well this state of the question.

Again: As the Census shows that the colored population doubles every thirty years, there will be in the United States in A. D. 1880, 7,233,474; and thirty years thereafter, that is sixty years from this time, or A. D. 1910, there will be in the United States 14,466,948 colored people. Of this population nearly the whole will be in the slaveholding States, at least over thirteen millions and a half, supposing matters to proceed the next sixty years as they have proceeded for the last sixty.

Now comes up the most serious of all questions, viz: *Can the present slaveholding States bear a slave and free colored population of*

thirteen and a half millions? First, could such a slave population be profitably employed? I think I may say, without doubt, it could not: their labor would not pay for their keeping. But even could they be profitably employed, could they be kept peaceably and safely in subjection when they become equal in number, if not superior, to the white population? I will not examine this question; the mere propounding it awakens an interest that ought to lead to action; to action on the largest, most patriotic, and liberal scale.

Well, then, if the slaveholding States cannot bear the slave population at the end of sixty years, when it will be thirteen and a-half millions, and quite equal to the white population, if, indeed, they can bear it at the end of thirty years, when it will be nearly seven millions, the question arises, *what is to be done?* To this, three answers are offered:

1. Voluntary emancipation, so as to keep the number down to a safe and profitable point, and sending them into the free States. But will the free States agree to this? Will we receive them? If we note the indications in the free States on this question, there will be no difficulty in determining that the slaves emancipated in the South will not much longer be allowed to find a home in the free States; and, particularly, if the emancipations should be so numerous as to afford the South relief from an overgrown slave population. So long as the emancipations are few in number comparatively, and made from motives of benevolence, the free States may receive them; but when it becomes a policy in the South, either for profit or safety, the free States will undoubtedly refuse to receive the emancipated slaves. Already Indiana has taken legislative action to restrain their entrance within her territory; Ohio and Illinois have also taken incipient steps: and I am informed, that while I speak to you, a bill is on your files, and also one on the files of the New York Legislature, for the purpose of restraining their increase within the territories of these States, severally. The tendency of the public mind in the free States is, to shut up the colored population within the limits of the slaveholding States. Several powerful motives impel the public feeling in the free States in this direction, and will influence and probably determine their legislation towards the policy of restraining the increase of the colored population within their bounds. In the first place, many say, the South have the institution of slavery and wish to preserve and cherish it; we deem it an evil, a stain, if you will; let them keep the evil wholly within their own bounds; this is the quickest way to cure it; when it becomes unendurable there, they themselves will make a movement for relief; and can find it in no other way than in emancipation and removal. Others.

having regard chiefly to the peace and quiet of their own State, are becoming more and more unwilling to admit this naturally antagonistic population among us. While others, still, believe that the colored race is better off in a slaveholding community, than in the free States. All these motives are beginning to act powerfully to exclude the colored race from the free States. The Southern States cannot find relief, therefore, from voluntary emancipation, and transfer of their surplus slave population into the free States.

2. Although it has not been openly declared, yet there can be no doubt that relief is looked for from an extension of the slave population further South, into territory now belonging to Mexico or Spain. Allow me to say, this is a fearful remedy. It supposes aggressions upon neighboring nations with which we are now at peace. A high-minded and honorable country cannot accept this remedy. Besides, the remedy itself would only postpone the crisis; it would come at last, and when it came, the evil would be so immensely increased as to appal, if not to paralyze the boldest and largest minds and policy. Is it wise to look to such a remedy? Besides all this; could such a question of territory be made without convulsing these United States? It certainly could not. If there is any one point on which public opinion in the North is agreed, it is this, that there ought not to be any territorial extension of slavery; that such extension must be resisted at all hazards, as injurious to the honor, the peace, and the prosperity of the union of these States. Is it wise, then, to put this Union in jeopardy by such a remedy? This Union must not be jeopardized; another remedy must be found, such as will preserve the peace, safety, and prosperity of these States.

3. This remedy is *colonization*, or removing the colored race from amidst the white race. This remedy is founded on the fact established by all history; that two strongly marked races of people cannot live peaceably and equally together as citizens under the same government; they must amalgamate by marriage and form one common people, or the one must be subjected to the other. This, at least up to this period of the world's history, is the decree of Providence. I need not say that the reason, the judgment, the instincts of the people of these United States, are all against amalgamation by marriage. It remains then either to encounter the danger described or to adopt an adequate scheme of colonization; i. e. to transfer the colored race to those parts of the world where they may dwell together. This, then, is the scheme we advocate this evening. And while our proposition is in view of the Western coast of Africa, we do not shut out of the question other parts

of the world inhabited exclusively or dominantly by the African race. We maintain that the colonizing the colored people in these United States on the Western coast of Africa, is

1. *A Measure of Public Justice.* If there were not a slave, or free colored person in our Union, and the people, North and South, were called upon to say whether they would advise the introduction of the children of Africa among us, I ask, would one voice be heard in favor of it throughout the length and breadth of this land? Not one. Why not? Because there lies at the bottom of this whole matter an element of moral evil: at the starting point lieth flagrant injustice; and accordingly all civilized nations have declared the slave trade from Africa to be piracy. It was a stupendous public wrong to commence it; it is a measure of public justice not only to put a stop to it, but to remedy the wrongs and evils which have flowed from it. These wrongs and evils operating through a long series of years have entwined themselves with the vast and complicated interests and institutions of a large portion of our country; and it will require a long series of years to accomplish the remedy effectually. But Providence allows time to work out the ends of public justice, and always seconds the efforts of man if made sincerely, wisely and patiently. Let us then do our part in setting on foot a system of public policy that shall safely, peacefully, and equitably render this great act of public justice to the millions of the exiled children of Africa.

But this act of public justice connects with the natural right of these people, and with the divine Will not doubtfully expressed. In pursuance of the Divine distribution of the earth among the different races of men, God gave Africa to the race from which our colored people come. The deed of distribution and the reason for it are found in holy Scripture in these words; “God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, *and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation: that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him.*” Who can doubt but the “bounds of the habitation” of these people are in Africa? Who can doubt but in that part of the world is their lot, in working out the wise designs of a Providence known to man only as God manifests them by the signs of the times? Perhaps this wise and mysterious Providence has permitted their bondage in order to prepare them to be the instruments of Christian civilization and religion to their vast and populous country. Had they remained in their own country, they would have remained pagans; in their slavery and exile they have become Christians in their ideas and feelings, and many of

them truly experimental and intelligent Christians. Return them to Africa, and they will form a Christian republic whose light and civilization will illuminate and reform the Western part of that great and gloomy continent. This single consideration is sufficient to move this whole country to action in favor of colonization. And if such be the designs of Providence, who shall estimate the guilt and punishment of our people, if we refuse to send home these prepared missionaries, now that God, by the signs of the times, is intimating His will that we now enter upon the work ?

In order to succeed, so as finally to remove the disturbing element of slavery from our country and separate the two antagonistic races, the States, and finally the General Government, must espouse the cause of colonization. The Western coast of Africa, to a great extent, may be acquired and brought under our dominion, without detriment or wrong to the natives ; or under the dominion of the Republic of Liberia, which well represents us. The slave trade has desolated the Western coast of Africa, so that for many hundred miles along the coast, and for many miles inland, the native population is very sparse. All this country may be occupied by colonists from our country without removing the natives ; and being of the same race with the natives, will gradually and peacefully convert them to Christianity, and elevate and assimilate them.

When we have said that the States, and finally the General Government must and will espouse this cause, we do not mean to say that this ought to be done unconstitutionally, or with wrong and violence to the individual States, or the Constitution of the United States. Each State is competent to espouse the cause and aid it ; and when the States generally shall do this, they can legitimately influence Congress to aid the cause in a constitutional way. But the States must advance first and singly, co-operating with the increasing liberality of large minded and benevolent citizens, and thus open the way for the countenance and support of the General Government.

2. But I said the measure we propose, is one of *public benevolence*. This is true, whether we have reference to the colored man transferred to Africa, his natural home, or to the foreign slave trade, which all civilized nations have declared to be piracy : and it is one of the brightest passages in our national history, that our government was the first to make this declaration. It is now a well established fact, that the little and comparatively feeble Colony (now State) of Liberia, and the English settlement at Sierra Leone, have done more to break up the foreign slave trade than all the navies of England, France, and the United

States combined. Let the whole coast from Sierra Leone on the North, to the English colonies on the South, be occupied by colonies civilized by Christian African people, and the slave trade is extinct. We naturally ask here, if the General Government may be at the immense expense of an armed naval force on the Western coast of Africa, for the suppression of the slave trade, why may she not expend money in colonization, with a view more effectually to accomplish the end proposed? Surely, the one is as constitutional as the other.

But I have said our measure is one of public benevolence, considered in reference to the colonized Africans themselves. I am a native of, and was reared in a slave State; I have seen the colored man under all conditions in this country, from the rice plantations in Georgia and South Carolina, to the cold regions of Maine and Canada; I know his position and capabilities in America; I know he never can obtain freedom and equality before the law of the Legislature, and the still more imperious law of society; he cannot obtain such freedom and equality as his heart naturally and justly yearns after. The differences between his race and ours are such, that political and social equality is impracticable. What changes, moral, political and physical agents, acting through centuries to come, may work out tending to assimilate the white and the colored races, no man can foresee. We are called on to act under the present conditions of the case; and to act for the good of the colored man, and for the honor, safety and peace of our country. I say, then, knowing as I do, the positions and capabilities of the colored man in America, he cannot attain to the functions and enjoyment of a man among us. He is not, and cannot be free in the proper sense of the word: the pressure that keeps him down is irresistible: he cannot rise to a manly hope and ambition: he cannot develop his powers here, and show what he could do, if circumstances were favorable. If by industry and good fortune he make money, and rear a family of sons and daughters in a respectable manner, where will he find suitable alliances for them? I need not pursue this subject: I have talked with such, and found them faint and discouraged with the prospects before their children.

But transport these people to Africa with our religion, our civilization, though in a degree, and our political institutions, and experience has shown that there they become men; and show themselves to be men. After large opportunities, and long and patient observation, I am persuaded that nowhere else but in Africa, is the African *a man*. I have reason to know, that there he is a man. Shortly after I went to New York, to take charge of the missionary affairs of our whole

church, I received large despatches from our African mission. Among them were the minutes of our Mission Conference in Liberia, composed wholly of some twenty colored men: also, the annual report of the Superintendent of the mission; together with reports on education, on church property, and the extension of the mission, and on various subjects. Upon opening the papers, I was struck with the clear, bold hand in which they were generally written; and upon reading a portion of the annual report and minutes, I was astonished at the perspicuous arrangement of the matter, and the clear and forcible language in which it was expressed. I turned to the clerk, who had been accustomed to see despatches from Africa, and asked him, if colored men wrote these papers? He smiled and replied, there is no white person in the colony, except one lone woman, Mrs. Wilkins, a martyr to the education of the children of the colonists. The position, the circumstances of the African colonist in Liberia, make him a man, and give him action. Transplant him there, and he becomes a man, and takes place among men. His descendants, in a few generations, may stand forward grandly in the affairs of this world.

3. But the measure we propose is one of *Public Honor*. It implies the founding of a Christian State in Africa, that may yet rise to the dignity of a great confederation of States, repeating on that, at present dark and savage continent, the light and glory of our own Republic. And this reproduction of our own glorious Union in Africa will be resplendent with brilliant and agreeable associations of names, of states, and towns which shall bind Africa to us with cords of gratitude; and make her forget her bondage in our land; and lead her to comprehend the ways of God, and to confess that they are wise and good. It is right and fitting that Pennsylvania should espouse this cause and stand foremost among the free States in its favor. Her position, exposing her to a large and suffering free colored population: her philanthropy; her wealth; her influence in the National Councils; her attachment; her devotion to the Union; her moderation also—all call on her to take the lead among the free States in promoting African Colonization. Let her follow the example of Georgia, of Maryland, of Kentucky, of Louisiana, of New Jersey, which all repeat themselves in Africa, by founding colonies bearing their names respectively. Let her obtain the territory adjoining the Maryland Colony on the South, and stretching down to the Bight of Benin, and let it be called New Pennsylvania; let the chief town be New Philadelphia; let it be founded by free people of color from our own State; give them the means of building a large and strongly armed block-house to protect them, if need

be, from the assault and treachery of the savages; give them the means of opening a good road far into the populous and wealthy interior, and thus bring commerce to the coast; give them two or three small steamers to enable them to run up the rivers into the interior, and to communicate with other colonies on the coast. Let Pennsylvania do this, gentlemen, and we shall see the slave trade abolished entirely, and an impulse given to the cause of emancipation and colonization in this country, and a light shed over the whole of this difficult and fearful subject of slavery.

4. But we claim that our measure is one of *national prosperity*. From the very nature of the case, colonists prefer trading with their mother country, if the mother country offer them facilities. The only question is, whether there be materials of commerce in Africa. The natural products of Africa are various, immense. The only thing wanted, is to find access to them. The proper means of access is by the medium of well regulated colonies or States, occupying the coast, and extending inwards until they come in contact with the sources of natural wealth; and thus bring it down to the coast, and cause it to enter into the commerce of the world. Feeble as the Republic of Liberia is, she is beginning to do this effectually. She only needs the means of opening good roads into the interior, and defending them for a time; and a few small steamers to run up the rivers, and communicate between the towns on the coast, and the export trade would be suddenly and greatly increased. Because we in the United States have neglected to give attention to the commerce of the Western coast of Africa, we have no idea of what the trade is already. England is awake to its importance, and is taking steps to secure it by a monthly line of steamers, while a proposition in our Congress to do the same, is looked upon with indifference, if not with coldness, and is suffered to die of neglect.

That you may have some idea of the growing commerce of Liberia, I recite the arrivals and departures at the Port of Monrovia, from June 20th, to September 30th, 1851, as collected from Africa's Luminary, and published in the Colonization Herald of Philadelphia.

ARRIVALS.

June 20th.—United States ship Germantown, Capt. J. D. Knight, bearing the broad penant of Commodore E. A. F. Lavallette, Commander-in-chief of the U. S. African Squadron, fifteen days from Porto Praya, all well.

June 20th.—English brig Betsy Hall, Wm. B. Thompson, from Grand Bassa.

June 21st.—Hamburg schooner Bertha Kochn, W. F. Sellion, from Grand Bassa.

June 23d.—Am. brig Louisa, J. Webber, from the South Coast, via Sinoe and Grand Bassa.

June 24th.—Eng. brig Arab, S. Dyer, from Cape Palmas and Grand Bassa. Captain Dyer arrived here very ill. We are glad to be able to state that he is now convalescent, and gaining strength rapidly.

June 28th.—La. cutter Eliza Francis, Howard, from the Leeward Coast, with palm oil, to U. A. McGill & Brother.

June 30th.—Arrived U. S. ship John Adams, Capt. Samuel Barron, — from Porto Praya, all well.

July 1st.—La. schooner G. R. McGill, U. A. McGill, from a trading voyage to the Leeward Coast, palm oil, to U. A. McGill & Brother.

July 2d.—Eng. bark Ariel, A. Henderson, from Tradetown.

July 6th.—La. sloop John E. Taylor, Williams, from the leeward, with a cargo of palm oil, to Paine & Yates.

July 8th.—La. cutter Expedition, Curd, from Little Cape Mount and Digby, with rice, to D. B. Warner.

July 10th.—Hamburg brig Theresa Henrietta, S. Patterson, from the South Coast.

July 10th.—La. cutter Perseverance, Page, from the leeward, palm oil, to D. B. Warner.

July 10th.—Eng. schooner Monarch, Edwards, from the leeward.

July 11th.—La. cutter Expedition, Curd, from Digby and Little Cape Mount.

Sept. 4th.—La. cutter Eliza Francis, Howard, from leeward, with palm oil, to U. A. McGill & Brother.

Sept. 8th.—American barque Gem, R. E. Lawlin, from Gaboon; passengers, Rev. Mr. Bess, Mrs. Wilson, and Mr. G. Cyrus.

Sept. 10th.—La. cutter Perseverance, Curd, from Sinoe and Grand Bassa, palm oil and camwood, to E. J. Roye.

Sept. 10th.—Arrived, H. M. steam vessel "Alecto," commander Geo. Laval, from Sierra Leone, with a large mail for H. B. M.'s Consul, and citizens of this place. The Alecto sailed on the 11th instant for Sierra Leone, via Cape Mount and Gallinas.

Sept. 12th.—Eng. brig Steadfast, W. F. Farr, from Sinoe, via Grand Bassa; passengers, Jas. S. Smith, M. D., and Mr. A. T. Cheeseman and lady.

Sept. 12th.—La. cutter *Liberia*, H. Wilson, from the leeward, palm oil, to U. A. McGill & Brother.

Sept. 17th.—Liberia Government schooner *Lark*, R. Cooper, Esq., Lieutenant Commanding, for Grand Bassa; passengers, Attorney-General, and Secretary of the Treasury. Her Majesty's brig *Sea Lark*, Capt. Southerby, senior officer of the Sierra Leone Division.

Sept. 17th.—La. cutter *Rough and Ready*, Madison, from the leeward, with palm oil, to D. B. Warner.

Sept. 27th.—Eng. barque *Ariel*, of Liverpool, A. Henderson, from Grand Bassa.

Sept. 29th.—La. cutter *Eliza Francis*, Howard, from the leeward, with palm oil, to U. A. McGill & Brother.

DEPARTURES.

June 20th.—Eng. bark *Clydeside*, J. White, for Liverpool; cargo of palm oil, camwood and other African produce; passengers, Rev. A. T. Wood and lady.

June 21st.—La. cutter *H. Marshall*, for Grand Bassa, merchandise, to S. A. Benson.

June 21st.—French brig *Abeille*, La Gueville, for Havre, via Sierra Leone. Passengers to Sierra Leone, Captain H. R. Knowles, and W. C. Townly.

June 28th.—Amer. brig *Louisa*, J. Webber, for Sierra Leone, and the Gambia, thence to the United States.

June 28th.—Hamburg schooner *Bertha Koch*, W. F. Sellion, cargo of palm oil for Sierra Leone.

June 30th.—Eng. brig *Betsey Hall*, W. B. Thompson, for Liverpool, cargo of palm oil and camwood.

July 1st.—Eng. cutter *Georgiana*, J. K. Straw, for Liverpool; passenger, Miss Sutton. The *Georgiana* takes a small lot of Liberian cotton to England.

July 2d.—La. cutter *Expedition*, Curd, for Little Cape Mount.

July 8th.—Sailed, U. S. ship *Germantown*, Captain J. D. Knight, bearing the broad penant of Com. E. A. F. Lavallette, &c. Same day, U. S. ship *John Adams*, Captain Samuel Barron. We understand it is the intention of the Commodore, on his way down the coast, to call for a short time at the several ports of the Republic; thence to the south coast in quest of slavers.

July 10th.—Sailed, L. G. schooner *Lark*, R. Cooper, Esq., commanding, for Grand Bassa; passengers, Hon. J. H. Chavers, Secretary of the Treasury.

July 10th.—Eng. barque *Ariel*, A. Henderson, for Tradetown.

July 12th.—La. cutter *Expeditious*, Curd, from Little Cape Mount Digby, with rice and camwood, to D. B. Warner.

Sept. 17th.—English brig *Steadfast*, W. F. Farr, for Bristol. Am. barque *Gem*, of New York, for the Gaboon; passengers, Rev. Mr. Bess, and Mrs. Wilson.

Sept. 18th.—La. cutter *Expeditious*, Page, for Grand Cape Mount.

Sept. 25th.—La. cutter *Rough and Ready*, Madison, for the leeward.

Sept. 30th.—Eng. barque *Ariel*, A. Henderson, for Grand Bassa.

There have been several objections urged to our proposed measure for the ultimate removal of slavery from this Union, and the separation of the white and colored races for the great benefit of these States; and the elevation, independence, and happiness of the colored people themselves.

1. It has been supposed that the colored people will refuse to emigrate to Africa. That the great body of them in the free States will refuse to go for a long time to come, there can be no doubt. But many are and will be disposed to go; and the number will be augmented as the prosperity and power of the Liberian Republic increase, and the mortification and embarrassment of the colored people increase in the States. There is a growing disposition already observable among them to join their brethren in Liberia. Some of the men whom they have been accustomed to regard as their best friends heretofore, and who have often advised them not to go to Liberia, have changed their opinions, and now advise them to go. As an instance, Mr. Birney has addressed a sensible and energetic letter to them to this effect. Shall we not open the way for them, and afford them our aid and advice? This noble and philanthropic enterprise is worthy the patronage of the great State of Pennsylvania.

2. It has been supposed that it is impracticable to transport to Africa three millions of men, women, and children. But what do we see before our eyes? It is now ascertained that there are over four millions of Europeans, and the immediate descendants of Europeans in the United States; and they are now coming to our shores at an average of a thousand a day, and the ratio increasing annually. If the emigration should continue to advance for the next ten years as it has done the last five, there will arrive in our country from Europe, five millions of people in ten years. And all this without the aid of governments to any appreciable extent. The whole movement is founded upon private enterprise, and to accomplish private interests. Are we to be told, then, that these States, in connection with private benevolence, cannot,

in the course of a generation or two, transport the colored population of less than three and a-half millions to the western coast of Africa ? Especially as it is a measure of public peace and safety, public justice, public benevolence, public honor, and national prosperity. It is practicable and must be done.

3. But it has been said, any such policy will arouse the jealousy of the Slaveholding States. This is a mistake. They see the danger in the distance, and would as gladly as we accept any safe and honorable remedy. Let them see that our measures are peaceful ; are practicable, are effectual, and they will join us heartily, and thus co-operating with us to bring the General Government to aid strictly in accordance with the rights of each State, and the Constitution of the United States, we shall see, or at least our children or our children's children, will see this foreign and naturally antagonistic race removed from among us, and returned to their own land which God hath given them ; and then shall our Union be tenfold stronger, brighter, and more glorious ; and indeed become the light of the nations of the earth and the undebated pride of her children.

Gentlemen of the Legislature, it is to obtain a propitious beginning of this project that we, as a committee of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society have sought this present interview with you in your own Hall. Grant us the favor of the State by your vote, and sanction this vote by an appropriation, if it be of but one single dollar.



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